

The Portrayal of Indonesian Political Actor's and Media's Perspective on the Issue of Climate Change in the 2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference

Yoseph Bambang Wiratmojo
Program Studi Ilmu Komunikasi Fakultas Ilmu Sosial dan Ilmu Politik
Universitas Atma Jaya Yogyakarta
JL. Babarsari 6, Yogyakarta 55281
Hp. 081227982128, e-mail: bambang@staff.uajy.ac.id

Davidson Willy Arguna Samosir
Hukum Online – PT Justika Siar Publika
Puri Imperium Office Plaza Jakarta G-07
JL. Kuningan Madya Kav. 5-6, Kuningan, Jakarta 12980
Hp. 08179121189, e-mail: davidson.samosir@gmail.com

Abstract

The decisions made at the 2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference, in Nusa Dua Bali, have the potential to influence environmental policies in countries around the world, particularly policies to reduce global carbon emissions. This paper analysed how the Indonesian media portrayed climate change issues during the Conference and the whether the Indonesian media and political actors have the same perspective on climate change issues. After examining approximately 160 news articles and press releases from political actors it was clear that the media and political actors, particularly environmental NGOs, paid careful attention to climate change. However, we found that the Indonesian government did not seriously manage this issue in the media, despite having the responsibility and authority to make environmentally friendly policies.

Abstrak

2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference di Nusa Dua Bali merupakan even yang sangat penting, bukan hanya bagi Indonesia sebagai tuan rumah konferensi, tetapi juga bagi umat manusia di dunia, karena keputusan tentang pengurangan emisi karbon global akan dapat memengaruhi kebijakan tentang lingkungan hidup di seluruh negara di bumi ini. Penelitian ini menjawab pertanyaan tentang bagaimana media di Indonesia menyajikan isu masalah perubahan iklim kepada audiensnya dan mencari tahu bagaimana aktor-aktor penentu kebijakan lingkungan mempunyai pemahaman tentang masalah perubahan iklim. Metode analisis dilakukan dengan analisis framing dengan menganalisis 160 artikel media dan *press release* dari harian KOMPAS, REPUBLIKA, Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia, WALHI, dan GREENPEACE Indonesia selama-sepanjang-setelah even 2007 UNCCC diselenggarakan dan hasilnya menemukan bahwa media dan NGO menganggap sangat serius issue perubahan iklim ini, namun pemerintah Indonesia tidak menganggapnya serius, sehingga pemerintah Indonesia tidak serius dalam mengorganisasikan issue masalah perubahan iklim ini, padahal mereka adalah penentu kebijakan utama pengurangan emisi karbon.

Key words : *Climate change issue, Political actors, Carbon emission reductions*

Introduction

Climate change has become one of the biggest problems faced by the international community in the 21st century. The impacts of climate changes have already been felt directly by a small group of around 300 people who were forced to leave their homes on an island in Papua New Guinea, after the island was submerged due to rising sea levels associated with global warming. These 300 people could be the first climate change refugees in the world (Dinnen, 2001). Unfortunately, this event was just one of the many effects of climate changes and more problems are likely to occur, according to the Chairman of the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change.

In Indonesia, the effects of climate change can be felt by the unusual weather. Lately, cities in Indonesia flood each year during the rainy season, and in summer heat waves are surely to struck people with outdoor activities. These occurrences are not just felt in Indonesia but also in other countries with other different events, therefore climate problem cannot be considered a local or a regional problem anymore and it surely has to be solved together by nations.

The 2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference, in Nusa Dua Bali, was the biggest environmental conference in 2007, and included participants from both rich industrial countries and poor countries. Participants at the conference had a wide range of objectives. Some attended the conference to support continuation of the 1997 Kyoto Protocol, while others wanted to scrap the Protocol.

In addition to the government officials and non-governmental organizations at the conference, there were also than one thousand journalists from international and national media sources covering the conference. One can assume that these journalists had different angles on the same fact, which in turn, resulted in a wide variety of articles that influenced the public in different ways.

The way the media packages a story by selecting aspects of a perceived reality and makes them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and

or treatment recommendation" is called framing (Reese, 2007, p. 151).

Framing helps to "shape and alter audience members' interpretations and preferences through priming", and "to introduce or raise salience or apparent importance of certain ideas, activating schemas that encourage target audiences to feel, think and decide in a particular way" (Entman, 2007, p. 164)

Therefore, it would be interesting to see how different media frame stories on climate changes issues, especially while covering the Bali Climate Change Talk. Two research questions can be brought to surface. They are; (1) How did the Indonesian media portray climate change issues?; (2) Did the Indonesian media and political actors have the same frame of mind about climate change issues?

Before we elaborate on the findings, we will first explore framing conceptions. Framing is a process where a communicator effects people opinion construction by emphasizing certain aspects of an issue. Generally speaking, decision makers present *logically* equivalent statements, which do not *appear* as equivalent to the audience, in a different light" (Druckman, 2001).

Moreover, Reese argues that frames are organizing principles that are socially shared and persistent over time that work symbolically to meaningfully structure the social world (Reese, Oscar, August, 2003, p. 11). He sees "frames as structures that draw boundaries, and set up categories, which define some ideas out and others in and work to snag related ideas in their net in an active process" (Reese, 2007, p. 150). As Scheufele explained, framing can have four functions (2004 p. 411); (a) activation effect (media frames activate existing schemata); (b) transformation effect (modify schemata); (c) formation effect (establish schemata); (d) attitudinal effect (altering attitudes).

Two common ways of framing are used by communication scholars and political scientists. The first method is the communication frame or media frame using words, images, phrases, presentation styles. The second method of framing refers to an individual's cognitive understanding of a given situation.

To elaborate on these frame's Druckman uses the Brooklyn Museum case as an example. In the Brooklyn Museum case, the city counsel focused on the government's prerogative to withdraw funding based on artistic content: "The city's view of [the] art is that it's totally inappropriate because of the nature of the art itself. The actual upsetting, violent, disgusting view of some of these paintings, shouldn't be supported by taxpayer money". Unlike frames in communication, frames in politics use arguments based on legal rights, such as the First Amendment right, enabling the city to frame the Brooklyn Museum exhibitions in a "free-speech frame of mind" (Chong, Druckman, 2007: 101).

Weaver's definition of framing is similar to Druckman's definition. He supports Druckman's communication frame argument. He quoted Gamson (2002) by defining framing as a "signature matrix" that includes various condensing symbols (catchphrases, taglines, exemplars, metaphors, depictions, and visual images) and reasoning devices (causes and consequences, appeals to principles or moral claims)" (Weaver, 2007: 143).

Contrary to Druckman's idea, Edy's definition of framing focuses on the "narrative structure that issues are embedded in, other than agenda-setting, which works by quantity and repetition; framing is based on the context. The narrative structure then affects the salience of an issue in the minds of the audience and puts issues in a specific sense" (Edy, Meirick, 2007).

Van Gorp on the other hand, has a simpler way defining framing; he argues that framing basically highlights information as an eye-catcher so the public notices it more easily (2007). He also argues that frames are just subtle changes in phrasing, to pinpoint a certain issue so the receiver will detect it.

Like van Gorp, Scheufele also defines framing in a simple way. He argues that framing exists based on the assumption that the way an issue is characterized in news reports can influence the way the audience understands the issue. Framing can also refer to modes of presentation that journalists and other communicators use to present information in a way that resonates with

existing underlying schemas among their audience (Scheufele, 2007: 11- 12).

Kinder, quoting Popkin (1993), argues that "framing arises whenever there is more than one way to think about a subject" (p. 83). He sees framing as a political tool that should be present in political communication. He suggested that a frame should illustrate how politics are practiced and encourage citizens to understand the ongoing issues and events in particular ways. Hence, by defining essential issues and suggesting how to think about it, the receiver can be instructed to do something about it. Kinder added that the reason politicians spend plenty of money & time on disseminating frames is because they assume these efforts can get them elected (Kinder, 2007).

Porto, a Latin American scholar, explains framing in a different manner, unlike other communication scholars from Europe and USA. Porto divides framing into specific levels and by defining these specific levels, he developed an interpretative controversies model. According to this model, *interpretative controversies* are political disputes that are effectively immune to resolution through accessible facts and are carried out primarily through *interpretive frames*, which are frames promoted by a sponsor that offers a specific interpretation of a political event or issue. Porto argues that the interpretative frame concept is a particular subset of the more general notion of media frames and it can shed new light on media effects on controversies that take place during electoral campaigns. This concept is very similar to Entman's definition of substantive frames mentioned earlier (Porto, 2007: 31-32).

All of the above scholars define framing from different perspectives, whereas Entman (1993) argues that framing is "omnipresent across social sciences and humanities, but there is no general definition or conclusion on framing was made yet". Supporting that idea is Scheufele's argument that "the reason why the concept of framing is not yet integrated into a theoretical model is because results of approaches are hardly comparable" Scheufele (1999). This idea is also backed by D'Angelo. He argues that there is not, nor should there be, a single paradigm of framing to support his argument he had differentiated framing para-

digms into 3 categories which are (D'Angelo, 2002); (1) the cognitive paradigm: news frames create semantic associations within an individual's schema; (2) the critical paradigm: frames are the outcome of newsgathering routines à journalists convey information about issues and events from the perspectives or values of the elites; (3) the constructionist paradigm: journalists are information processors who create interpretive packages of the positions of politically invested sponsors to reflect and add to the issue culture of the topic.

Method

This research uses qualitative methods to analyse framing, which means the researcher seeks to determine the manifest content of written, spoken, or published communications through systematic, objective, and quantitative analysis. The sampling in this research includes both purposive sampling, meaning the sample was chosen with a purpose in mind and also random sampling, which means all items have some chance of selection that can be calculated (Trochim, 2006).

In this study, the samples are press releases from Indonesian political actors and print media. The press releases are from; (1) the Indonesian Environmental Ministry/ *Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup (KLH)*; (2) Friends of the Earth Indonesia / *WALHI*; (3) GREENPEACE Indonesia. The articles are from; (1) KOMPAS; and (2) REPUBLIKA, which were up-loaded on their websites during a 51 day period (before, at the moment, and after 2007 the United Nations Climate Change Conference in Nusa Dua, Bali).

The press releases and articles were dated November 2, 2007 to 23 December, 2007 and they all discuss climate change issues. KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA were chosen because they are the most widely circulated newspapers in Indonesia, and because they have different political orientations; one is middle oriented (KOMPAS) and the other is right oriented (REPUBLIKA). The political actors observed in this research were chosen because these government and non-government bodies exist in Indonesia to advocate for environmental issues.

Eighty seven articles from KOMPAS and 50 articles from REPUBLIKA were gathered. In

addition, there were four press releases from the Indonesian Ministry of Environmental Issues, 13 press releases from Greenpeace Indonesia, and six press releases from Friends of the Earth Indonesia or WALHI.

The newspaper articles were then numbered and drawn in order to get 30 articles which were then coded. The press releases were also numbered and coded but not drawn. In its analysis, the frames were categorized into some specific sub-themes according to frames that frequently appear.

Findings and Discussion

KOMPAS

We found about 87 articles from KOMPAS daily that were related to climate change issues, between 2nd November to 23rd December 2007. We chose 30 of the 87 articles to be the unit analysis through a simple random sampling system. The shortest article was 278 words and the longest was 863 words. It is important to note that KOMPAS provided special edition pages during the COP-13 UNFCCC-Bali 2007 in the Indonesian language and also in English. Of the 30 chosen articles, 16 of included photos or maps.

Most of the articles were news articles written by journalists. Climate change was an important topic for KOMPAS, as evidenced by the number of climate change editorials in less than two months.

KOMPAS's Problem Frames

(a) Polarization among countries about climate change. KOMPAS reported the polarization among countries that had different attitudes about climate change. In particular, KOMPAS covered the US and Australian's attitude. At the

Table 1. Article Genres

No.	Genres	Frequency
1	News	23
2	Editorial / Commentary	5
3	Guest contribution	1
4	Others	1
	Total	30

Table 2. The Authors

No.	Authors	Frequency
1	Journalists	27
2	Politicians	1
3	Political advocates	1
4	Independent experts	1
	Total	30

time, Australia had not ratified the Kyoto Protocol and the Australian public was criticizing John Howard's Administration for not ratifying the protocol. They asserted that the Australian political parties had no power or credibility to overcome climate change. Finally this issue caused John Howard's defeat in the Australian general election.

During the COP-13 UNFCCC Bali Conference, the European Union (EU) and developing countries debated about implementing emission reductions. The EU insisted that developing countries reduce emissions 20-30 percent by 2020, matching the EU's target. However, developing countries thought the target was too high and should not be applied to them, because most EU countries are industrial and developed countries, while developing countries still rely on natural resources processing and their economic sectors are still growing.

(b) Climate changes-global warming and their impacts. Climate changes have certainly had a negative effect on human beings; natural and weather catastrophes are happening everywhere; the ice in the poles is melting; sea levels are rising; many ecosystems are being damaged; and farmers and fisherman have gone bankrupt, because of weather anomalies. Global warming is also expected to spread diseases and extreme climate changes weaken human metabolism. The world crisis is due to climate changes effects.

(c) USA has no commitment to addressing climate change. The former US Vice President, Al Gore criticized his country for not committing to overcome climate change; even though the US is one of the largest emitters of greenhouse gases in the world. At the Bali UNFCCC COP-13, delegations from many countries also criticized the US, which was considered to hinder the conference progress. The US refused to approve drafts that were approved by other countries; they

reasoned that they still needed time to examine every opinion in the discussion presented by other countries. By the end of the conference they ended up not supporting the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and the Bali-Roadmap.

(d) Skeptics; before, during, and after the Bali conference. The polarization among countries created skepticism about the Bali conference and the possibility of reaching any new agreements to overcome climate changes. Countries that are categorized as tropical forest countries said that UNFCCC had neglected efforts to prevent degradation and forest destruction caused by natural disasters. Meanwhile, the developed countries blamed climate change crisis on deforestation in developing countries, even though the developed countries' commitment to reducing emissions was in doubt.

NGOs that participated, said that the Bali conference failed to bring new hope. They were worried that the situation would only get worse and carbon emissions would rise 60 percent by 2030, without a new policy. They were sure that reducing emissions by preventing further deforestation and forest degradation in developing countries (REDD) would never be an effective mechanism to fight carbon emissions, because it would permit irresponsible industrialists to pay money for polluting the earth, which is not equal to the negative impacts of global warming.

Health interest groups complained that health issues had not been integrated into the climate change discussions; although climate changes would impact human health whether the issue was discussed or not. The health groups argued that people should be informed that they would be susceptible to illnesses because of weather disorders.

Sea ecosystem interest groups also voiced their opinion. They stated that climate change frameworks still ignored biological sea diversity conservation. According to them, the Bali conference negotiators did not know that the sea ecosystem plays a big role in absorbing carbon emissions. In fact, sea ecosystems play bigger role than forests, because oceans cover more than two-thirds of the earth's surface.

(e) Politics and economics of climate change. Transfer of technology from developed countries to developing countries is another prob-

lem in overcoming climate change. Nevertheless, developing countries have suffered more in this situation. Despite economic limitations, they must overcome the impact of climate changes. Developed countries refused to transfer environmentally friendly technologies, because the cost of transferring technology is not cheap. Usually, environmentally friendly technology are owned by private companies that refuse to give the technology to developing countries at no cost, while developing countries have limited resources to acquire or create these technologies. Developing countries that still struggle with their economy, cannot support the technology research and development of renewable energy.

(f) Indonesia and climate change problems. Between 1997 and 2006, the Netherlands categorized Indonesia as the 3rd largest emitter of greenhouse gases. Deforestation and destruction of peat land from land burning (land clearing) has become a bad habit of traditional farmers. They have no modern technology to clear the land, so they burn the land recklessly.

Climate changes threaten the tourism industry in Indonesia. The tourism industry consumes a lot of energy, for hotels, restaurants, and transportation. So far, Indonesia still relies on petroleum based energy; consequently, Indonesia releases a lot of carbon too. This situation creates a dilemma for Indonesia; on one side Indonesia must survive by taking advantage of all its economic resources, on other side, Indonesia should take an active role in addressing climate change.

Internally, many environmental interest groups criticize the Indonesian Government. They say the National Action Plan for Overcoming Climate Changes (RAN-Mapi) is absurd. Though the RAN-Mapi findings which were conducted throughout many Indonesian regions and is considered to be unique where it addresses the climate changes phenomenon differently. However, it can be generalized as follow.

In the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM) program, Indonesia must compete with other developing countries, like India, Brazil, and China. There are only a few Indonesian companies involved in the CDM scheme, compared to those three countries. Consequently, Indonesia still does not receive many advantages from this pro-

gram, which is designed to allow developing countries to receive compensation for tropical forests, which are being used as the lungs of the world.

KOMPAS's Cause Frames

(a) UNFCCC simplified climate change issues too much. The REDD (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Degradation) Scheme was a new way to reduce emissions that was debated at the Bali conference. This scheme was considered to be too simplistic about the function of forest ecosystems, since forests actually have a higher value and are not just carbon emission absorbers.

The Bali conference was also too occupied with focusing on forest and energy sectors, while discussions about sea ecosystem conservation were not given enough time, even though sea ecosystems play a big role in regulating the global climate. Global warming also threatens sea ecosystems, since it will destroy the sea food chain. In the long term, the sea cannot absorb carbon emissions in the air.

(b) Political-economic impact of climate changes. Climate changes lead to economic problems. No mutually beneficial agreements on the transfer of technology have been reached, because clean technology is not owned solely by the wealthy governments, but also their private sectors. Developed countries can not unilaterally transfer clean technology to countries like Indonesia; they have to cooperate with private actors. This problem requires serious commitment and goodwill from leaders of developed countries.

Bio-fuel energy could be easily produced because it is a renewable energy. However, bio-fuel production costs are relatively high. In addition, bio-fuel requires materials that are often used for food, so increasing the production of bio-fuels would impact food sources. CDM methodology knowledge and capital limitations have made it problematic for developing countries to implement a CDM scheme; furthermore, CDM scheme is still dominated by certain countries. CDM has also been criticized by environmental interest groups. For example, some argue that the "carbon trading quota" legalizes carbon emissions and allows every country to release carbon as long as they can pay for it.

(c) Others. KOMPAS also framed the issue in terms of the cause of climate change; natural or environmental. KOMPAS reported that about 1.400 metric tons (MT) of CO₂ were released by Indonesia through peat land clearing between 1997-2006. Many countries became concerned about this issue, especially the European Union, while the world was still implementing the Kyoto Protocol.

During the Kyoto Protocol negotiations, the EU protested that China and India were not included as “emission reduction target countries”, although the 2007 World Energy Outlook for China and India said that CO₂ emissions in these countries were 20 percent higher than in 1997. This fact was one of the reasons the EU opposed carbon emission reduction targets up to 20-30 percent in 2020

KOMPAS's Solution Frame

(a) Overcoming climate change issues without the US. The US is an anomaly to overcoming the impact of climate changes. As Al Gore said during the Bali conference, the USA should take responsibility for the climate change catastrophe. 52 US Senators concurred with this statement and wrote a letter to President Bush asking him to instruct negotiators to stop opposing progress at the Bali conference and collaborate with the other nations. The US did not change its position or make a positive contribution to overcoming climate change. As a result, the US was not included in the Bali Roadmap.

(b) Overcoming climate change by reducing emissions. Emission reduction is a recurring theme in discussions about addressing climate changes. This solution can be applied to other specific solutions, such as reducing fossil based energy use, because fossil energy releases a lot of carbon into the air; a moratorium on logging; a strict law on managing forest use, especially in rainforests that are big carbon absorbers. In conjunction with these measures, Indonesia would suggest emission reductions by reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD).

(c) Overcoming climate changes through political policies. Climate change has become a global problem, so it is no wonder that most coun-

tries in the world are trying to solve this problem. Countries with tropical forests have formed a “world map” partnership to manage their forests together to reduce carbon emissions. East Asian countries actively fought for a new environmental blueprint as a substitute for the Kyoto Protocol during COP-13 UNFCCC. The Alliance of Small Archipelago Countries met at the Maladewa Conference to prepare a new resolution for the Bali conference to prevent their islands from sinking. Australians took to the street to protest and insist their political leaders use their political power to reduce climate change. European consumers agreed not to buy CPO and related products from converted peat land, as one solution to conserve peat land. Meanwhile, the Indonesian government allocated money in their budget to subsidize bio-fuel rather than petroleum fuel.

(d) Bali conference. Many parties hoped the Bali conference would result in new policies to overcome climate change. Environmental NGOs hoped a global climate treaty would be approved by all nations, including a commitment to stabilize the climate system and a new policy on new sources of energy. The Coral Triangle Initiative (CTI) proposed a coral conservation agenda as part of the COP-13 UNFCCC roadmap; and the health sector proposed that integrating health issues into the emission reduction mechanism, since climate changes influence human health.

REPUBLIKA

REPUBLIKA published about 50 articles regarding climate change issues, from 2nd November until 23rd December 2007. We chose 30 of these articles as the unit of analysis through a simple random sampling system. The shortest article had 247 words and the longest had 995 words.

Most articles written in REPUBLIKA were news articles written by journalists. Since

Table 3. Article Genres

No.	Genres	Frequency
1	News	27
2	Editorial / Commentary	2
3	Unspecified text on organization website	1
	Total	30

Table 4. Article Authors

No.	Authors	Frequency
1	Journalists	28
2	Independent experts	2
	Total	30

REPUBLIKA has an Islamic religious base, its editorials or commentaries usually reflect Moslem values. This remained true for REPUBLIKA's climate change reporting. REPUBLIKA presented climate change issues scientifically and also through Koran-based perspectives.

REPUBLIKA's Problem Frames

(a) Bali conference. REPUBLIKA focused a lot of attention on the Bali conference itself, because the conference generated 50 thousand metric tons of carbon. This could be ironic, since the conference focused on improving the environment, while the event made the environment worse.

From the beginning, REPUBLIKA also worried about whether Bali conference would be successful, because there were still disagreements and different interpretations about the Kyoto Protocol. This concern was realized when conference was extended (until Saturday, 15th of December 2007) due to a disagreement between the US & EU on target emission reductions.

The Bali conference was like a "carbon-market", where developed countries and developing countries met to bargain with each other about how much carbon would be released and how much money developing countries would receive. Then, while skepticism was growing about the outcome of the Bali conference, the new Australian government left US with ratifying Kyoto Protocol. This event inspired new optimism amongst the participants about realizing the Bali Roadmaps.

(b) Climate changes-global warming and their impacts. Although climate changes is a global disaster, countries in the equator are more impacted than others, especially the economic sector; because the most countries in this area are developing countries, whose economic resources – mostly natural resources - are threatened because of the

climate changes. For example, climate changes disrupt the ocean food chain; affecting oceanic life cycles and causing ecological imbalances. In the long term, climate changes also will affect the Millennium Development Goals for each country.

(c) Politics and economics of climate change. Slowly but surely, climate change problems have become a political-economic problem. Developing countries fought for reducing emissions from deforestation and degradation (REDD), Clean Development Mechanisms (CDM) and transfer of technology; while developed countries refused to accept the term "financial obligation" in the REDD draft. They wanted to change the term "obligation" to "voluntary", so the quantity was more negotiable. This caused doubt about developed countries' commitment to REDD.

In addition, the issue of transferring technology was still unsolved. Technology transfers would not have a significant impact on climate change issues in developing countries after 2012, because most developing countries do not have sufficient funds for the research and development of environmentally friendly technology.

The Climate Justice Movement, which was a group of environmental-NGOs, refused REDD. They said the schemes were merely carbon trade between the developing and the developed countries'. They refuse to accept World Bank being an agent for carbon trade. The scheme was considered to accommodating forest trade without the care of more important values such as biodiversity conservation and socio-cultural functions for indigenous society.

(d) Others; Land clearing and Transportation Pollution. Land cultivation by land clearing peat land or forest, are considered big contributors for carbon emission from Indonesia. This problem is not exactly a new issue, as it occurs frequently from time to time, where traditional farmers open new farming areas. Meanwhile developed countries carbon emission contribution derives from their industries and transportation sectors. The dependence on petroleum energy had resulted to serious problems, because both the industry or transportation sector needs large amount of energy in order to operate machineries.

REPUBLIKA's Causes Frames

(a) Polarization among countries about climate changes. Conflict of interest between developed and developing countries could not be covered in Bali conference; each of them fought for their own interest. USA had not ratified Kyoto Protocol to protect their industries, yet it blocked REDD schemes. EU refused to commit to the emissions reductions targets, they consider the targets of being too high. Developing countries disagreed to reduce emission reductions targets, because it could hamper their economic growth. Although Bali conference resulted to the Bali Road Map, which was designed to replace the Kyoto Protocol, however, 25-40 percent emission reduction target by 2020 was not regulated in the new protocol.

(b) Political-economy of climate changes. Carbon trade issue emerged in Bali conference. Multi National Companies (MNCs) brought plenty of carbon trade schemes in this event. It made companies have the opportunity to practice dirty business and to take benefit from carbon credit. Whereas CDM allowed developed countries to buy "emission ticket" from the selling countries, or to transfer their technology as compensation of their carbon emission; so far CDM project distribution are still monopolized by four developing countries (China, India, Brazil, and Mexico). This problem emerged because the CDM methodology was complex.

(c) Others. The dependence on fossil base energy becomes the main cause of climate changes in the earth; due to that reasons every country supports the use of bio-energy. Indonesia released a Presidential decree establishing a legal framework to ensure the supply and production of bio fuel, the decree aims also to support private sectors in producing bio-fuel. However NGOs worries that new regulation would actually serve to legalize land clearing for the production of bio-fuel materials.

REPUBLIKA's Solution Frames

(a) Polarization among countries about climate changes. Bali conference did not cover all the problems of climate changes, because it was impossible to solve all problems in two weeks con-

ference. Unresolved problems are continued in the Poland (COP-14) and Denmark (COP-15) conference. It is expected that Bali conference would drive industrial countries to reduce carbon emission up to 85 percent (1990-2050). It is reasonable that industrial countries to have a higher commitment to reduce carbon emission than non-industrial countries. A stronger "political-will" is required from all countries to reach the target. Regarding the USA, the forum was confident that USA new presidential candidates would have a different attitude compared to the Bush administration.

(b) Political-economy of climate changes. To overcome the impact of climate changes, the use of the "opposing policy" can be used interchangeably with the "adapting policy". To adapt climate changes, we need dialogs on mitigation, technology transfer, and funds for climate changes. This policy is very important especially for developing countries, which do not have big budget for climate changes impact. Fund for overcoming climate changes could be bigger than the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of developing countries. However climate changes are happened and every country must not only fight to overcome them but also survive with their economy.

Although agriculture is one of the main economic resources of Indonesia but the government committed to stop giving new permissions on the use of peat land for plantation. Actually that is a dilemma for Indonesia, but it should be chosen for the better future. In the other way Indonesia struggled to simply CDM and REDD schemes. Those schemes were hoped, would give some contribution for Indonesia economic sector. Likes other developing countries, Indonesia hopes that financial aid for technology transfer should be voluntarily; the developed countries should not always count lose or profit.

(c) Others: Indonesia's solution for climate changes. Indonesia, is as the owner of number third largest tropical rainforest in the world, dedicated some part of its forest for REDD. The other forest-policies, which Indonesia do to overcome climate changes, are reforestation and afforestation. As a compensation for carbon emission during Bali conference, Indonesia would plant tree on area 54 thousand hectare as absorber. As energy-

policy, Indonesia will move from fossil base fuel to non-fossil base fuel as soon as possible.

GREENPEACE (Indonesia)

Greenpeace is a global campaigning organization that acts to change attitudes and behavior, to protect and conserve the environment and to promote peace by: catalyzing an energy revolution, defending oceans, protecting the world's remaining ancient forests, supporting sustainable agriculture. Greenpeace was established in 1971 in Canada.

Greenpeace has national and regional offices in 28 countries and a presence in 42 countries worldwide, all of which are affiliated to the Amsterdam-based Greenpeace International. The global organization receives its income through the individual contributions of an estimated 2.8 million financial supporters, as well as from grants from charitable foundations.

In the end of 1980s and beginning 1990s Greenpeace established its representative office in Asia. South East Asia has very important role in keeping environment stability, especially Philippines and Indonesia (available on www.greenpeace.org)

In period 2nd November until 23rd December 2007 Greenpeace Indonesia published 11 press releases in its web site. The shortest press release was 447 words and the longest one was 925 words; most of them were provided with external links and picture. Usually the press releases also enclose the contact person, who responsible in that project or campaign, the contact, and email address. It seems that that is a standard form of Greenpeace's press release.

GREENPEACE's Problem Frames

Energy crisis in Indonesia drive the government to bring into reality nuclear reactor, whereas actually in some developed countries nuclear reactor will be closed. This policy will aggravate Indonesian's image in the world, after its deforestation and land clearing that released 20 percent of the world green house gas emission.

For international range Greenpeace (Indonesia) insisted countries not to open new coal reactors to cover their energy crisis and to end their

dependence on fossil-base energy. The dependence on fossil-base energy makes the world in crisis; this was indicated by the raising of earth temperature at least in this decade. The global warming causes climate disaster, the damage of ecosystem, decline of economic, and breed of new diseases.

Greenpeace (Indonesia) also criticized Bali Road Map, which ignored scientific research. When politician could not work together with scientist, surely the world will fail to overcome climate changes.

GREENPEACE's Cause Frames

The main cause frames of Greenpeace (Indonesia) examined that; (1) Multi National (Food) Companies have responsibility on the damage of peat land and forest in Indonesia for opening their palm oil plantations; (2) USA was on the back the ignorance of Bali Road Map on scientific research of climate changes.

GREENPEACE's Solution Frames

Greenpeace (Indonesia) said that the world needs big fund for energy revolution to leave fossil-base energy; developed countries should assist developing countries to stop use of coal through transfer technology. Developed countries should help developing countries to overcome climate changes, because so far they have made use of developing country's forest to absorb their carbon emission. Developing countries should stop the deforestation and careless opening land for farming.

Climate changes are real threat for the world, so the world must overcome them base on scientific research, whereas Greenpeace will support friendly energy campaigns and trainings continuously.

Indonesian ENVIRONMENTAL AFFAIR MINISTRY (IEAM)

In period 2nd November until 23rd December 2007 Indonesian Environmental Affair Ministry (KLH) had only published four press releases, which related with climate changes issue, in its web

site. The shortest press release was 259 words and the longest one was 1103 words. This quantity was classified very few for institution, which has responsibility in environmental affair. Usually the press release provides phone number and name of a person, which can be contacted by the journalist.

IEAM's Problem Frames

The main problem frames of the Indonesian Environmental Affairs Ministry, which were examined that; around 50,000 ton of CO₂ were released to the air by Bali conference. It was ironic that UNFCCC negotiated about global carbon emission reductions but in the other this conference produce a big amount of carbon emissions. As a government agent the Indonesian Environmental Affairs Ministry also highlighted the limitedness of resources and technical capacity that become problem for Indonesia to overcome climate changes. The other problems frames were being salient about carbon, which was resulted by coal reactors in industrial countries, had never been counted as cost; whereas they produce a big amount of carbon emission in this earth. This government's agent also captured that state dominated forest management and exploited them for political interest in Indonesia new order era.

IEAM's Cause Frames

The main cause frame, which was highlighted by the Indonesian Environmental Affairs Ministry, was the lack of adequate studies on the effect of climate change and its impacts

IEAM's Solution Frames

This government environment agent highlighted the compensation of carbon emission released so long UNFCCC in Bali by planting trees on 4,313 acres of land throughout Indonesia. Carbon emission, which was released by coal reactor of industrial countries, should be counted as cost and be paid; international trade system should examine intensively high-level engagement and interaction on the issue of international trade and cli-

mate change; and province government will take over the forest management, so that local people could meet the benefit their customary rights.

Wahana Lingkungan Hidup (WALHI)

Wahana Lingkungan Hidup Indonesia (WALHI) is the biggest independent and non-profit environmental organization in Indonesia since 15th September 1980. It has representation office in 26 provinces and has 436 organization members. They consist of NGOs, environmental interest groups, and self-supporting society groups.

In international level, WALHI works together with Friends of Earth International, which has 71 organization members in 70 countries. WALHI works to defend Indonesia's natural world and local communities from injustice carried out in the name of economic development. WALHI works across Indonesia on a variety of issues including: forests, mining, fresh water management, pollution, foreign debt and corporate-driven globalization, coasts and oceans, disaster management, national policy and law reform, and good governance. WALHI's vision is to establish a just and democratic social, economic and political order that guarantees peoples' rights to life and livelihood resources and a healthy environment (available on www.walhi.or.id).

In period 2nd November until 23rd December 2007 WALHI published six press releases related with climate changes issue. The shortest press release was about 432 words and the longest one was about 1536 words. Like Greenpeace the press release of WALHI usually provides some contact persons, who have responsibility on the campaign, email address, and the phone numbers.

WALHI's Problem Frames

Indonesian's law enforcement in environmental regulations is very weak; so it is not a wonder if multi-national industries always win to bargain with Indonesian government in environmental policies. As the consequence the government ignores the forest conservation for mining or palm oil plantations. WALHI and the other environmen-

tal grassroots organizations examined that REDD schemes and Forest Carbon Partnership Facility (FCPF) would never overcome climate changes, even they will make worse.

WALHI's Cause Frames

(1) Wealthy companies and countries can buy the right to continue to pollute; (2) Businesses, governments and people continue and even increase unnecessary polluting activities.

WALHI's Solution Frames

WALHI solution frames insist Indonesian government to amend the Forestry Law. Government should conserve forest and peat land by no more giving permission to open land for industrial plantations or mining. In international level WALHI refused REDD schemes and FCPF initiative because those policies will only give chance wealth companies or countries to buy their environmental act of damaging. They must count how much carbon that they release and how much socio-ecological impact, which they produce; and they have to take the responsibility. Other thing, the developed countries should help vulnerable communities adapt to the impacts of climate change.

Climate changes and global warming might become very hot issues in the future, which will defeat terrorism or globalization issues. However climate changes impacts have destroyed power wider, more horrifying and more permanent. So it is not a wonder when COP-13 UNFCCC Bali on 3-15 December 2007 attracted many parties to take attention; politician, scientist, environmental activist, or journalist. Media have a big role in dissemination of climate changes message. How media packaged the information would influence public to receive, to understand, and to have attitude on climate changes issues. Since this paper tried to explore how Indonesian media portray climate changes problem; and do media and political actors have the same frame about this problem.

This research used qualitative content analysis method to find and to analyze the climate

changes frame in news articles of newspapers and press releases of political actors. The news articles came from two big newspapers in Indonesia: KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA; and the press releases came from political actors that concerned on climate changes issues: GREENPEACE (Indonesia), Indonesian Environmental Affair Ministry (Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup), and WALHI.

Base on frames categorizing both KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA showed almost the same frames in problem, cause, and solution.

(a) Climate Changes-Global Warming. In this main frame both of them explained generally how climate changes happened. They wrote many natural disaster cases as impacts of climate changes, both in Indonesia and other countries. We found that both of these media took side to developing countries, which suffer more seriously than developed countries; especially not only in macro economic sector but also natural resources, food endurance, public health, poverty, and other social impacts. There was not much solution, which could be offered on natural disaster problem, except carbon emission reduction for minimizing the damage of the earth. Whereas economical loss of climate changes were still negotiated among the countries.

(b) Bali Conference. Bali conference was the biggest environmental conference in 2007, which invited representation from all countries in the world. This event also was reported by thousands of journalist media from all over the world. KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA wrote that there were skeptics whether Bali conference would result a better progress than UNFCCC before, considered there were still many principal differences about implementation of Kyoto Protocol. This doubt proved that negotiation process in this conference run not so smooth, and the conference should be extended two days. Even not all problems could be solved in this two weeks conference, for example about REDD scheme and technology transfer. Finally IPCC will discuss again all problems, which were not solved, in next conferences (COP-14 Poland and COP-15 Denmark).

(c) Political-Economic of Climate Changes. Complicated political-economic problem appeared in negotiation process between developed and

developing countries; REDD scheme, CDM scheme, and technology transfer were policies that had political-economic values. Environmental NGOs considered that Bali conference was just “carbon trading event” among countries. REDD and CDM schemes exactly would make the earth worse. Those policies just legalized act of damaging of earth with money. They believed that climate changes problems could be solved not only with money, but also with good will of all country in the world.

In frame performing, KOMPAS was richer than REPUBLIKA, because—especially during the Bali conference—KOMPAS published special edition of climate changes in Indonesian language and English, whereas REPUBLIKA only added more space in one or two pages. So it was not a wonder also that with the key words: climate changes, global warming, emission reduction, Bali conference; we could find more news articles in KOMPAS than in REPUBLIKA.

One of problems in this research was the shortage of press releases from political actors in the period 2nd November until 23rd December 2007 with climate changes issues. Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup, which was the organisation committee of COP-13 UNFCCC Bali, had only four releases. The shortage of press releases from KLH could be on of typical state agency in Indonesia: bad management. It has become “a public secret” that state agency is not capable in data management, especially in this case, web site maintenance.

From four press releases at least two frames of KLH appeared in KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA, those were; Bali conference event caused 50 thousand metric ton carbon released to the air (RE-PUBLIKA, 6th December 2007); and Limited resources and technical capacity become problem for Indonesia to overcome climate changes (KOMPAS, 27th November 2007).

Whereas there were more GREENPEACE and WALHI frames than KLH’s appeared in KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA; those were not just because of the quantity, which was different, but also frames from Greenpeace and WALHI were more critical and provided with data. Press releases from Greenpeace are provided always external link and photo.

The limitedness of this research is the shortage of press releases from political actors, especially from the government, which have interest in climate changes issues. The shortage of press release appears difficulty to analyses how actually the government position among other political actors in this issues. As we said before, that state agents in Indonesia have a bad data management. As appear in some news articles that overcoming of climate changes impacts have not become priority of Indonesian government this time. The government struggle in economic growth to overcome the poverty.

Conclusion

2007 United Nations Climate Change Conference, in Bali, might become a very important event not only for Indonesia as a host country, but also for people in the world, because the decision of this conference would have big influence for countries in this earth in environmental policies, especially in the reduction global carbon emissions. KOMPAS and REPUBLIKA took attention carefully in their reports even KOMPAS provided special space reported this conference. GREENPEACE Indonesia and WALHI also did not want to make use this moment to force Indonesia and other countries thinking seriously on this issue through their ‘happening arts’ and media releases. We examined that Indonesia’s Environmental Affairs Ministry (Kementrian Lingkungan Hidup) did not have good management issues in media on this climate change conference. It was indicated by their press release to media, which were only four releases along 2nd November until 23rd December 2007.

Bibliography

- Chong, Dennis, Druckman, James N., 2007, A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 99-118.
- Dinnen, Richard, 2001, PNG island sinking, Available: <http://www.abc.net.au/worldtoday/stories/s288994.htm>. Last accessed 30 March 2008.

- Druckman, James N., 2001, On the Limits of Framing Effects: Who Can Frame?, *The Journal of Politics*, 63 (4), 1041-1066.
- D'Angelo, P., 2002, News framing as a multiparadigmatic research program: A response to Entman, *Journal of Communication*, 52 (1), 870-888.
- Edy, Jill A., Meirick, Patrick C., 2007, Wanted, Dead or Alive: Media Frames, Frame Adoption, and Support for the War in Afghanistan, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 119-141.
- Entman, Robert M., 2007, Framing Bias, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 163-173.
- Greenpeace <http://www.greenpeace.org/seasia/id/> Last accessed 3 April 2008.
- Kinder, Donald R., 2007, Curmudgeonly Advice, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 155-162.
- Porto, Mauro P., 2007, Political Framing Controversies: Television and the 2002 Presidential Election in Brazil, *Political Communication*, 24 (1), 19-36.
- Reese, Stephen D., Oscar H. Gandy, August E. Grant, 2003, Framing Public Life: Perspective on Media and Our Understanding of the Social World. Available: http://books.google.com/books?id=3ypSCcSX2y0C&pg=PR11&dq=Reese,+Stephen+D+2001&hl=en&ei=M7ufTpGnC4OyrAex8dWA_Aw&sa=X&oi=book_result&ct=result&resnum=1&ved=0CC0Q6AEwAA#v=onepage&q=Reese%2C%20Stephen%20D, Last accessed 8th August 2007.
- Reese, Stephen D., 2007, The Framing Project: A Bridging Model for Media Research Revisited, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 148-154.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., Tewksbury, David, 2007, Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 9-20.
- Scheufele, Dietram A., 2004, Framing-effects approach: A theoretical and methodological critique, *European Journal of Communication Research*, 29 (1), 401-428.
- Trochim, William M.K., 2006, Nonprobability Sampling. Available: <http://www.socialresearchmethods.net/kb/samprnon.php>. Last accessed 30 March 2008.
- Van Gorp, B., 2007, The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1): 163-173.
- WALHI http://www.eng.walhi.or.id/ttgkami/prof_walhi_eng/ Last accessed 8 April 2008.
- Weaver, David, 2007 Thoughts on Agenda Setting, Framing, and Priming, *Journal of Communication*, 57 (1), 142-147.